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IN THE YEAR 1959 THE WORLD STANDS AT THE CROSSROADS
Thus spoke Dr. W. E. B. DuBois at the World Peace Council's 10th anniversary meeting in Stockholm last week. "Either hereafter the world follows reason and right," he said, "or it will commit suicide through war. There is no third way." The pattern of NATO rifles (above) in Vienna is the pattern of unreason. Progress at Geneva (see right) is the pattern of reason.

SUMMIT MEETING HELD SURE

Some hope at Geneva as U. S. hints it may split up its package

By Kumar Goshal

THE BIG FOUR foreign ministers' conference opened in Geneva on May 11 with 1,200 correspondents in attendance and TV and movie cameramen chasing delegates all over the city for copy. Despite all fanfare, by the second week there were faint signs of progress and acceptance of a summit meeting as virtually inevitable.

In the first week the delegates thrashed out procedural matters and presented their maximum proposals. The week revealed fissures in the "solid rank" of the Western powers which they tried hastily to patch up. In the second week there were hopeful reports of the U.S. delegation preparing to modify its hitherto inflexible position.

SQUARE OR ROUND? The key procedural issue seemed to be the ludicrous question of a round or square table; but in reality it was a substantial issue: the status of East and West Germany at the conference. Moscow suggested a round table with the Big Four and the East and West German representatives around the rim. Washington, London and Paris insisted on a square table for the Big Four, with the East and West Germans seated separately as advisers.

It was finally resolved with the Big Four occupying a round, hollow table, and the East and West Germans as advisers at two separate square tables. The net result was acceptance of both German groups as equals.

On May 14, Secy. of State Herter presented the West's "indissolubly linked" but "phased" package proposal for Germany and Europe:

- Berlin unified by "free elections" and its freedom guaranteed by the Big Four until it becomes "the capital of a reunited Germany."
- A commission of 25 West Germans and ten East Germans "to draft an electoral law for all-German elections" (a

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AN APPRAISAL OF THE SOVIET APPROACH

What the Russians look for at the Summit

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

AS THE SEASON for summitry approaches, it is becoming increasingly fashionable in some sections of the Western press to say the Russians do not really want to negotiate—therefore better not even put them to the test. Or that the Russians only want to use summit talks as a high-level propaganda platform—therefore deny it to them.

The argument that Soviet leaders do not really want negotiations is an absurd one. For more than two years Khrushchev has been pushing for summit talks. The Soviet people have been led to believe that something solid and positive can and will come out of summit talks.

Soviet leaders have to take into account public opinion to a much greater degree than is generally believed in the West. Khrushchev as the great champion of summit talks has to get something out of them or show a very good reason why. Therefore he will go to negotiate and, I believe, will bend very far backwards to find a basis for agreement with the West. Khrushchev personally and the present Soviet leadership in general have a strong vested interest in successful summit talks and will go all out to make them successful. The question presents itself—what would be regarded as "successful"?

THE DOCUMENTS: By all the evidence, there is one short answer to this—an easing of tensions that will permit the Soviet Union to push ahead with its present Seven-Year plan and a whole succession of plans after that. The principal means

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Behind N. Y.'s hospital strike—the city's worst conditions

By a Hospital Striker

AT 6 A.M. SHARP on Friday, May 8, in front of six New York City private, non-profit hospitals, groups of workers shouldered picket signs and began to march toward the buildings where lines of police stood waiting. We had been told by our supervisors that it was against the law to strike and we would be arrested if we did. So reminiscent had the preceding weeks been of the union-busting days before the Wagner Act (which doesn't apply to us) that we were braced for going to jail that morning.

Up on the wards and the private floors, the nurses' aides who work from midnight to 8 a.m. saw from the windows the picket lines forming in the chilly gray-blue dawn and started for their lockers to change out of their uniforms. In a few minutes, on the sidewalks, hardly knowing each others' names, we of the day and night shifts embraced, Negro, white, Puerto Rican.

Several policeman shouted: "O.K. Keep the line moving." We began to walk. Our signs read: "Hospital Workers Can't Live On $32 a week"; "A City Welfare Allowance is Bigger Than a Hospital Salary."

THE BENEFACTORS: Thus the strike nobody would have expected got under way. For months, since signing up 3,625 members of the 4,500 non-professional employes in the six hospitals, Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Workers had tried to meet with representatives of their administrations. Not merely had such meetings been refused but a two-week delay on the eve of the original strike date (agreed to at Mayor Wagner's plea after 16 straight hours of deadlocked negotiations at City Hall) had brought only a flat refusal by Boards of Trustees to consider an impartial fact-finding commission.

The first unexpected thing about the strike was the participants. On one side stood the philanthropists, organized into the Greater New York Hospital Association.

Typical of them was Charles A. Silver, until his retirement five years ago a $100,000-a-year vice-president of the American Woolen Co., now entering his sixth term as president of the city's Board of Education and also president of Beth Israel. A close friend of Cardinal Spellman, contributor of half-a-million dollars to St. Vincent's Hospital (whose non-professional workers were brought into Beth Israel to join high school students as strikebreakers), Mr. Silver is an often-mentioned possible Democratic candidate for mayor.

THE OTHER SIDE: Vis-a-vis these eaters of $100-a-plate donors' dinners at the best hotels, defying threats of court injunctions to stand up for their right to have a union, were the worst paid and most exploited of the city's workers, 80% of whom are Negro and Puerto Rican.

While some white collar workers, lab

(Continued on Page 9)

THE MAIL BAG

Hypothetical questions?

ARVADA, COLO.

One question I am asked by a Civil Defense circular is what would I do if I found myself the sole survivor of a community after an A-bomb attack. My answer of course would be: "I would commit suicide." Certainly I would not want to exist for a few hours, days or weeks in an atomized atmosphere hunting for spoiled food amid decaying bodies.

A harder question is posed by Philip Toynbee, namely: What would I do if I found myself the least injured in my house? If I would kill myself to avoid useless suffering, I would have much more reason to do away with my family for the same reason if they were unable to do it for themselves. But I hate to contemplate how I would dispatch my wife or children. Fortunately I have no parents.

I sincerely hope some way will be found to satisfy the fascist minds of the world so that all A-bombs may be destroyed and I would not have to make such a decision. Nor would you.

Burton Hansen

Jingle-jangle

JALISCO, MEXICO

Maybe if you start early enough, you could persuade the Civilian Defense people to put up a missile in Union Square next May Day for the children to use as a maypole. How pretty it would be to see the children dancing round it, singing:

Round and round the missile
Trit, trit, trot!
What a fine deterrence
We have got!
Murder all the women,
Murder all the men,
Murder all the children!
Just say when!
Round and round the missile
Trit, trit, trot!
What a fine deterrence
We have got!

Hugh Hardyman

The Youth March

MADISON, WIS.

Please send me a supply of the Youth March reprint immediately. The school semester closes in a few weeks.

Although only four of us went to the March from the U. of Wisconsin, we came with close to 2,000 signatures gathered after the Easter vacation. We all felt that the March was the most significant and important protest of youth in our country for many years. The feeling of being among 26,000 fellow young people, Negro and white, who were taking democracy seriously, was inspiring and represented to us the type of militant activity that will bring freedom. We felt that Rev. King spoke for all of us when he said that he saw the future in the sea of faces in front of him.

Upon returning to Madison, we were shocked to find that evidently the nation's press did not take note of the event at all. We checked through papers from all over the country in our library's periodical room and found that even Washington papers emphasized only President Eisenhower's message to the delegation.

You can imagine my happiness when the GUARDIAN came. Right away the contrast between Eisenhower's message and Bayard Rustin's evaluation was brought out. The report was thorough and gave the readers the spirit of the young people present. We attempted to have the local press interview us, but they were not interested. Finally we wrote up the March for the college paper.

Since my April 27 GUARDIAN arrived it has passed through many hands. Everyone was enthused by the picture coverage you gave it and the excellent write-up by Louis Burnham. I am sure that spreading this issue to non-readers will be the best introduction to the paper they can have.

Ron Radosh

'Of Men and Mountains'

AUSABLE FORKS, N.Y.

Thank you ever so much for the nice notice—and pictures!—of my little book. I have pretty nearly exhausted the 2,500 edition. It is having quite a success with Irish-Americans—some of whom find it hard to swallow my love of both the Irish and the Russians. I hope it does them a little good.

Rockwell Kent

Helpful books

DETROIT, MICH.

Good job on your book review pages. Current history teachers at Wayne State College teach that the Civil War had nothing to do with slavery. Time they were answered. I'm going to try. Books you reviewed will help.

Mort Furay

'Loyalty and Security'

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

In the introductory material to Mr. A. L. Colloms' thoughtful review of my book, **Loyalty and Security**, in your May 4 issue, you refer to a release from the Yale University Press stating that, though review copies were sent to all major newspapers and magazines, "no reviews had appeared." The release did remark that reviews had not appeared in a number of major media and this the Press and I continue to regret. However, there have been a substantial number of reviews from a variety of sources.

Ralph S. Brown, Jr.

Prof. Brown's note called attention to favorable comments from reviews in The Key Reporter, The Progressive *and the Washington* Post-Times Herald, *which called the book "a delight."—Ed.*

For Gil Green

CHICAGO, ILL.

As you probably know, the major efforts of our Committee this past year have been directed toward winning parole or executive clemency for Gil Green and Henry Winston. Our efforts have undoubtedly contributed to growing public recognition on the injustice and inhumanity of their imprisonment and of the threat to American democracy implicit in the Smith Act.

But because of these activities, it was beyond our powers to also organize, as in the past years, Christmas and Mother's Day receptions to provide travel funds for the Green family to visit Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas for the precious two hours permitted each month.

Our small reserves of welfare funds set aside for these visits are almost depleted. We make this appeal to you to contribute what you can. We have no other "angels."

**Chicago Smith Act Families Committee
Florence Green, treas.
3001 W. Sunnyside,
Chicago 25, Ill.**

Vie Nuove, Rome

"Pst! There's a rumor that this house is haunted!"

Edward P. Totten

COSTA MESA, CALIF.

Liberals, and liberal editors over the nation, will be saddened to learn of the death of Judge Edward P. Totten, outstanding California liberal, who died in Santa Ana, Calif., on May 12. He was 83.

I met Judge Totten when he was chief orator during the Upton Sinclair campaign for the California governorship in 1934. He had just come to California from North Dakota where he had been a practicing attorney and a member of the judiciary. He did much to win votes for Sinclair, the socialist candidate.

While an ardent champion of the way of life adopted by the Russian people, he never became identified with the Communist Party. In the library of his home in Orange, Calif., he read Communist papers and literature, in addition to almost every known liberal magazine published in this country and abroad. Always his purse was open to financially aid liberal and radical publications. In disputes between workers and their employers, invariably, he sided with the workers.

I never met a lovelier character or a finer gentleman than Judge Totten. His passing leaves an aching void.

George H. Shoaf

Wesley Wells at 50

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Your readers may be interested in doing something about the 50th birthday of Wesley Robert Wells May 23. This marks 31 years behind prison walls for this courageous Negro victim of prison jimcrow.

May I suggest to your readers that it might be worthwhile if they would write to Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Sacramento, Calif., to do what he can to free Wells. I am sure also that Wells would be very happy to receive birthday cards to show him that he still has many friends and well-wishers on the outside.

Aubrey Grossman

Mr. Grossman is an attorney who has been representing Wesley Wells. Messages may be addresssed to Wesley Robert Wells, Box 24155, California Medical Facility, Vacaville, Solano County, Calif.—Ed.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, May 4—Daniel Apollon, member of a prominent Haitian family, was beaten and his beard was set afire following his arrest over the weekend. The incident was believed to have pointed up the sensitivity toward beards in Haiti because of the beards worn by Cuban revolutionary fighters led by Fidel Castro.

—The New York Times, 5/5

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L.E., Manhattan, N.Y.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

AT THE FOUR POWER foreign ministers meeting this week in Paris there is room for compromise on the basis of a neutralized Germany and West-East economic cooperation. If a compromise is not achieved the consequences will be harsh. A new upsurge in the armament race will ensue, and since the United States has no balanced rearmament plan, and Western Europe is unable to rearm, this will be expensive but purposeless.

Failure in Paris will spoil the possibilities of East-West trade and thus strike at the very roots of the European Recovery Plan. If Paris fails, somebody will have to underwrite the economic existence of the West German state. The price will have to be paid by the United States and the United States alone.

—Max Werner in the GUARDIAN, May 23, 1949

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REPORT TO READERS

Reprints and boosters

FROM SEA TO SHINING SEA requests have been coming in to us during the past two weeks for supplies of the reprint we announced May 11 of Louis Burnham's outstanding coverage in the GUARDIAN of the April 18 Youth March for Integrated Schools. A letter in this week's Mailbag reports the reactions of a Wisconsin university student on finding this great effort on the part of American youth ignored in the nation's major press. Most other letters (some of them included in the pages of our reprint) have confirmed our original suspicion, based on the paucity of coverage in the east, that the event was played down or entirely ignored all over the country.

Our reprint is a special four-page GUARDIAN, including Burnham's story with pictures starting on P. 1 and spreading over two pages inside; a short explanation by the Editors of "Why this four-pager"; a selection of related **Mailbag** letters; and, to top out the four-pager in GUARDIAN style, a reprint of Cedric Belfrage's **Spectator** column reporting Paul Robeson's triumphant opening in **Othello** at the Shakespeare Memorial Theater in Stratford-on-Avon, England, last month. Also, as a special message to youth, we dug out of the files and included Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling's advice:

"Never put your trust in anything but your own intellect. Your elder, no matter whether he has grey hair or lost his hair, no matter whether he is a Nobel Laureate, may be wrong.

"The world progresses year by year, century by century, as the members of the younger generation find out what was wrong among the things that their elders said.

"So you must always be skeptical—always think for yourself."

OUR REPRINTS ARE FREE, and have been produced with the principal idea of overcoming as far as we can (with your help) the neglect by the big press of the Youth March and its implications. Also, we express the hope that people encountering the GUARDIAN for the first time via this reprint may perhaps wish to see more of a paper which believes in being on the spot when history is being made, and applauds the youth of our country for carrying out with dignity, ingenuity and determination, an action which puts their elders to shame.

So drop us a line today; take ten or 100 of these free reprints, and get them into the hands of people who may have missed one of the biggest and most heartening stories of our times, which the big press did not see fit to print.

•

ANOTHER LETTER, enclosing a check for $25, exposes something we have been up to recently by mail to a precious few, born of the necessities of the the coming rough, tough summer season. This letter, from an old friend in Illinois, says:

"In the past you have sent out apepals for funds to tide you over. They used to come regularly with the seasons. Lately you have been avoiding such appeals, which have made me think perhaps you had attained solvency. This was obviously premature optimism on my part, but I still hope the day of solvency may not be delayed overlong. Being a liberal publication, you are almost expected to have financial battles, and you are not the only one—a rather sad commentary on the thinking of this country at present."

Another subscriber, who helped us over our "first ditch" in 1949, sent $100 this month with a more optimistic note: "Now you are in the last ditch—on the last long climb to final victory."

A scant 6,000 readers have been apprised of our ever-present financial plight by mail this year (the new postage rates being what they are) and perhaps half of these are helping, including our life-blood band of "Buck of the Month" sustainers.

THIS MEANS that a goodly percentage of our readers may be unaware that this year, as in all other years, the GUARDIAN needs a big boost at the start of summer. An always helpful ten percent are giving extra help. If you are in this category, read no further. If you are not, please don't wait for a letter from us to send what you can. The letter may never come—for lack of postage.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN WILLIAMS AND THE NAACP

Question: How does a Negro combat violence?

By Louis E. Burnham

RECENT EVIDENCE of the impotence of law in the face of the most fiendish violations of the Negro's human rights has given new urgency to an age-old question. If we are to be free, Negroes ask, what are the proper means to the end?

Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County, N.C., NAACP, moved the discussion onto the front pages of the Negro press and into the news generally when on May 6 he urged Negroes to "meet violence with violence" as a means of defending themselves against racist attacks.

The 32-year old machinist and ex-marine was promptly suspended from his post by Roy Wilkins, national NAACP executive secretary. Announcement of the suspension was accompanied by a statement in which Wilkins emphasized that the NAACP has "never in its history advocated the use of violence." He pointed out, however, that "the mood of Negro citizens from one end of the nation to the other is of bitterness and anger."

AMENDMENT FOR WHOM? Williams was even more explicit in outlining the mood. His comments came the day after North Carolina courts had applied the usual torture to the judicial process in cases involving Negro-white conflict. On May 4 a grand jury refused to indict a white man charged with kicking a Negro maid down a flight of hotel steps last January. The next day the state Supreme Court sentenced a Negro to two years' imprisonment for molesting a white woman and freed a white man charged with assault on a pregnant Negro woman.

When pressed for a clarification of his position, Williams withdrew a statement that Negroes might have to "stop lynching with lynching" and said: "I do not mean that Negroes should go out and attempt to get revenge for mistreatments or injustice. But it is apparent that there is no 14th Amendment nor court protection of Negroes' rights here, and Negroes have to defend themselves on the spot whenever they are attacked by whites."

A HEARING JUNE 3: On May 11, 18 of the 48 board members of the NAACP met and voted to reaffirm the organization's opposition to violence and to support "the executive secretary in his declaration of this traditional and basic policy." Wilkins placed his charges against Williams in writing and gave him 15 days to reply. Williams engaged Conrad Lynn, civil rights attorney, to conduct his defense. Through Lynn he demanded that a hearing scheduled for June 3 be open to any NAACP member in good standing, that he be permitted to present witnesses and that Kelly Alexander, North Carolina NAACP president and national board member, be disqualified from voting on the issue.

Williams contends that Alexander has bitterly opposed his conduct of the affairs of the Union County branch. The state president, a porsperous undertaker of Charlotte, typifies for him the "Cadillac leaders" who make it their business to screen all militancy out of the civil rights organization. To get their Cadillacs, he told the GUARDIAN, they have to sell their principles.

A MATTER OF POLICY: Beyond the June 3 hearing, which will be conducted by the NAACP's committee on branches headed by former N.Y. Domestic Relations Court Justice Hubert T. Delany, looms the Golden Anniversary Convention which opens at the N.Y. Coliseum on July 13 with a speech by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Williams intends to make the question of self-defense an issue at the convention. He pointed out that in states like Mississippi the NAACP has "barely scratched the surface in 50 years," and contended: "That's enough to let you know there's something wrong with the policy."

Among public figures the reaction to

HOW MANY MORE MACK CHARLES PARKERS MUST THERE BE?
Friends seek to comfort a close friend of the victim of the Poplarville, Miss., lynching at his funeral. It was this murder that touched off the Williams-NAACP leadership controversy.

Williams' challenge was mixed. New York City Councilman Earl Brown urged Negroes to return brutality and violence measure for measure.

TACTICS AND PHILOSOPHY: Lester Granger, director of the Natl. Urban League, regarded Williams' advice as "understandable as the angry cry of frustration" but rejected it as "barely adolescent in terms of its application to the real-life situations of today." For him, modern weaponry and the Negro's position as a 10% minority made retaliatory violence unfeasible.

Dr. Martin Luther King's objections were not tactical. He reiterated his philosophy of passive resistance. While conceding that bitterness was widespread among Negroes, he insisted that it be replaced by love of their oppressors. "Do to me what you want to," he said, "but I will still love you."

Many other leaders were cautious in public, but the question was hotly discussed among rank-and-file citizens all over the country. In a front-page editorial (May 16), the N.Y. **Amsterdam News** urged the NAACP board to "tailor its thinking to the mood and tempo of the people for whom it speaks."

LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS: The long history of the NAACP's relationship to the masses of Negroes would indicate that that is not an easy matter for its current leadership. The almost exclusive concern with legalistic aspects of the struggle for equal rights has long been the prime weakness of the organization. Because this approach renders the membership largely superfluous except as fund raisers to support court cases, it limits the NAACP's appeal to them and leaves many who join frustrated for lack of something to do.

As a result, each major turn of events in the Negro battle during the past 20 years has been sparked by others or literally forced upon the NAACP leadership by an insistent membership. In 1941, when discrimination was commonplace in war industries, A. Philip Randolph organized the March on Washington Movement outside the NAACP to force Executive Order 8802 and the consequent FEPC from the hands of President Roosevelt.

THE 1954 MOTIVATION: When jimcrow in the armed services became intolerable, again it was Randolph's threat of a passive resistance movement to boycott the draft that highlighted the issue. The Clarendon County case, which resulted in the historic Supreme Court 1954 decision outlawing segregated schools, was brought at the insistence of South Carolina parents, not of New York NAACP lawyers. To implement the integration decision in transportation, Montgomery leaders had to forge a vehicle outside the NAACP. And other Southern leaders followed suit.

More recently, the NAACP opposed the first Youth March for Integrated Schools last October and discouraged participation by its youth councils. With the success of the venture (10,000 youth participated), the leadership reviewed its awkward position and joined the preparations for the second march which brought 26,000 youth to Washington.

A MAN'S RIGHT: Over the years the NAACP leadership has gained considerable skill in the art of leading a mass of oppressed and angry Negroes without really giving them an outlet. Robert F. Williams' challenge will not—as it should not—prod this leadership to advocacy of a program of violence as the means to Negro freedom. At the same time, the board will be hard put to deny that every Negro—as every American—has a constitutional right to defend his home and his person. So long as the Negro's radical and liberal allies, and the moderates, and the law-and-order advocates, cannot find a way to restrain the Negro-haters and the Negro-killers, then eventually the Negro must be expected to strike back—no matter how futile his blows at first.

Most important, the NAACP board may finally understand that the best way to discourage violence is not mere preachment against it, but mass action—to stay the hand of the anti-Negro terrorist and make retaliation unnecessary and therefore unthinkable.

LETTERS URGED TO GOV. ROCKEFELLER

Last ditch appeal for Willie Reid

THE ORDEAL of Willie Reid, 42-year-old fugitive from a Florida chain gang, reached a new climax on May 14 as his attorneys appealed to New York Acting Governor Malcolm Wilson for mercy to prevent his return to Florida authorities and "certain death."

Milton H. Friedman told Wilson that "social issues of the first magnitude" were involved in the case of the common laborer who escaped from a Lake County, Fla., work gang in 1952 after serving nearly two years of a 15-year sentence.

The sentence—for assault with premeditation to murder—was imposed by County Judge Truman G. Futch because Reid cut another Negro on the hand in a fight over a $2 card game bet. Friedman pointed out that Reid had no lawyer in the trial and had no opportunity to know the gravity of the charge. With counsel, he said, Reid could only have been convicted of aggravated assault which carries a maximum one-year sentence.

THE PROVOCATION: Lake County is the home ground of Sheriff Willis V. McCall and Friedman recalled that McCall is notorious as the killer of 11 Negroes in his custody. Reid, himself, suffered broken fingers and back injuries as a result of beatings administered on the chain gang. He was put in a sweat box more than once and threatened with death.

Reid was picked up in New York in 1955 on the basis of information furnished by the FBI. The next day former Gov. Averell Harriman signed an extradition warrant and the case has been in the courts ever since. During one-and-a-half years of this period Reid has been confined in a New York jail. Another of his attorneys, Lester V. Cohen, pointed out that, all told, he had served more than three times the maximum sentence allowable if he had been properly tried.

A few hours before the hearings the U.S. Court of Appeals turned down Reid's appeal for freedom. Cohen, who handled the case, indicated he would seek a stay of extradition while preparing an appeal to the Supreme Court. Precedent, however, does not promise a favorable outcome there and Friedman emphasized that the final decision is likely to rest with Gov. Rockefeller.

LETTERS URGED: In a moving appeal, he pointed out that the Governor is not bound by law to surrender any prisoner to another state and that "fairness, justice, equity and humanity" should instruct him not to do so in this case. He pointed out that during the seven years Reid has been in New York he has worked steadily while at liberty and that his employers had provided references as to his character and dependability.

Friedman further reported that New York State Sen. James Watson, a Harlem Democrat, had quoted Harriman as saying he never intended to return Reid to Florida, but would revoke the warrant as soon as litigation was ended. Lt. Gov. Wilson, acting in the absence of Gov. Rockefeller, received the plea without comment as Friedman underscored the prospect that if Reid is sent back he will face a probable lynching.

Reid's sister, Mrs. Ada Baker of Brooklyn, urged "friends of equal justice" to write Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Albany, N.Y., urging him to withdraw the extradition writ and save her brother from "unspeakable cruelty."

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY

Real Voice of America at Stockholm

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

STOCKHOLM

FOR THE FIRST TIME in many years a new Voice of America has been heard in Europe. Seventeen Americans, headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, took part in the tenth anniversary session of the World Council of Peace here May 8-14. They were given a tumultuous reception by delegates and visitors from more than 70 countries.

Rev. Stephen Fritchman of Los Angeles, a Unitarian minister, told the conference that the 17 Americans spoke for millions in the U.S. who believed in cooperation and friendship among nations as an alternative to NATO threats. He spoke of the "mushroom cloud of nuclear debris" which was awakening American citizens, hitherto innocent of political thought, because the danger was coming into their very homes. The fifth conference of the National Council of Churches of Christ in Cleveland had come out for suspension of tests and a real working co-existence.

Anton Refregier, the artist, said that the thousands of Americans who are cheering the Bolshoi Ballet express not only their appreciation of a great work of art but their desire for friendship with the Soviet people. *(See Refregier drawing on page 8.)*

IT IS A CHALLENGE: Dr. DuBois, who noted that for years he had been deprived of his passport, said that the threat to peace came from dominant rulers in the U.S. who believe—and whose monopoly of the news channels had made millions of other Americans believe—that communism threatened their way of life. It was the duty of Americans "who love their native land" to show the American people that war is no answer, that preparation for war is preparation for death and that communism is not a threat but a challenge. The only challenge to socialism, he said, was to show a better way.

"Peace, freedom and democracy," Dr. DuBois concluded. "These three, but the greatest of these is peace."

Dr. David Marengo, an Argentine nuclear physicist and a member of his nation's Atomic Energy Commission, told how late last summer a nuclear test was made by a missile from a U.S. warship some 800 miles out in the South Atlantic from Buenos Aires. The explosion was 30 miles up and the fact that it was not detected at the time is being used to hold up an agreement on banning the tests. Dr. Marengo said scientists noted an abnormal incidence of radioactive Carbon 14 in the trees and plants in south Argentina. They now calculate that one-third of the fallout will descend on the three continents bordering the South Atlantic—America, Africa and Antarctica—and that the fallout will continue for 20 years.

Dr. Marengo said he believed that the hurricanes and floods which have swept Argentina and Uruguay were directly caused by the explosion.

BOMBS AND THE WEATHER: After his speech I asked him for more evidence on this point. He said that the floods surpassed all former levels and that the last congress of meteorologists in Rome agreed that during the last 12 years the number of hurricanes have trebled and that the only new factor was the increase in radiation. He said the experts are more and more accepting the view of the British Nobel Prize winner, Prof. Soddy, that there is a definite link between weather disturbances such as hurricanes and the higher electrical conductivity of the atmosphere.

Prof. Schemberg of Brazil, who was also at the Stockholm meeting, would not commit himself on the influence of tests on weather; but he told me that in certain areas of Brazil radioactivity went up at the end of last year by 300%. The level of Strontium 90 in the milk in Brazil is higher than in the U.S. The South American scientists, he said, believe that the bombs exploded were much bigger than the U.S. authorities have reported.

HOPE—AND WARNINGS: The keynote of the conference was the need to mobilize world opinion in the precious months ahead to create an overwhelming demand for genuine steps towards peace at a summit meeting. Whenever and wherever the heads of state meet, they will be followed by deputations from every part of the earth which will express the demand of the peoples. The resolutions adopted showed that no one expects miracles. The demands made are for (1) an end to tests; (2) a zone of disengagement in Europe; (3) a peace treaty with Germany, and (4) a solution of the problem of Berlin.

W. E. B. DuBOIS
"The greatest of these is peace. . . ."

While the general attitude was one of hope, there were plenty of warnings. Speakers from West and East Germany, from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and other countries, all drew attention to the desperate danger involved in the steady growth of military strength in Western Germany, coupled with talk of Germany's need for living space in much the same terms used by the Kaiser and Hitler.

Prof. Walter Friedrich of the German Democratic Republic warned that the hoped-for summit meeting may be the last chance to prevent the German situation from drifting to catastrophe.

From the other side of the world, a North Korean delegate warned of the build-up of U.S. forces and nuclear armaments in South Korea.

Delegates from Iraq, where the peace movement was persecuted until the revolution, told of peace demonstrations in which one in seven of the population took part. They said Prime Minister Kassem met peace leaders around the very table where the Baghdad pact had been signed.

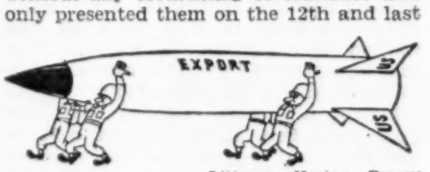
Messages of good will to the meeting, among others, came from Elizabeth, Queen Mother of Belgium and former French Premier Mendes-France.

What Russia wants

(Continued from Page 1)

of achieving this is clipping the wings of resurgent militarism and expansionism in West Germany. Between Western and Soviet positions on this, there is plenty of room to negotiate.

A number of recent articles and the publication of wartime and pre-wartime documents in the authoritative **International Affairs** emphasizes to what extent Soviet official thinking is still occupied with the German problem. There was the stenographic record of the abortive conversations between Marshal Voroshilov and the Anglo-French military missions on the eve of World War II aimed at forming a common military front in case Germany attacked. These show clearly that the Anglo-French delegations were only playing for time. They had no power to conclude any agreements. The absurdity of the Anglo-French position is illustrated by the fact that the British delegate Admiral Drax arrived in Moscow without any credentials or mandate and only presented them on the 12th and last



Litterary Noviny, Prague

day of the talks. The point the Russians wanted to make in publishing this record for the first time was that up to just 11 days before the outbreak of World War II, England and France had no real intention of military cooperation with the Soviet Union in case of Nazi aggression.

Another hitherto unpublished document recently produced reflects the bitterness at de Gaulle's new love-match with West Germany. It is the record of conversations between de Gaulle, Bidault, Stalin, and Molotov in Moscow in December, 1944. De Gaulle had come to negotiate a Franco-Soviet pact. Stalin wanted England to be included as well. De Gaulle objected to England because she would not be tough enough against Germany. De Gaulle and Bidault's central theme throughout the talks was the necessity to ensure that Germany should never again be militarized, should never again become a threat to peace.

THE THREAT: A third, most hair-raising document is a book—**The Bundeswehr: West German Armed Forces, Weapon for Aggression**—which has just been reviewed in **International Affairs.** If the information in it is correct—and it appears to be well documented—then it is not only the Russians who should be worrying about developments in West Germany. The author, A. Zaletny, claims that by the end of 1958, the Bundeswehr had 139 generals, 5,777 senior officers, 7,285 captains, 7,764 senior lieutenants and 3,755 lieutenants—enough, Zaletny claims, for at least 200 divisions. Present official plans call only for 12 divisions by 1961.

"The Bundeswehr today is an army of officers who, when the time comes, are ready to assume command over millions of men," warns Zaletny.

It is not a pretty picture which Zaletny paints. It seems only too grimly factual and does much to explain Soviet insistence on a peace treaty with Germany which will clip the wings of this incipient menace and pin Germany down to its present borders.

APPEASEMENT: In the Soviet press and radio, attention has frequently been drawn lately to the fact that while in the U.S. it has become customary to shout "appeasement" at any attempt to negotiate an East-West setttlement that could curb the German militarists, a real policy of appeasement in the Munich sense is being pursued by U.S. leaders. Soviet readers are reminded that "appeasement" meant satisfying the appetite of German militarism by feeding it countries which lay in Hitler's path to the East. The Soviet Union was the only big power to oppose this policy at the time. This brand of "appeasement" is again being pursued by the Western powers today. So runs the argument.

In building up West German armed forces, putting nuclear weapons into the hands of the former Hitler generals, the

Rude Pravo, Prague

"If you're up to anything in Geneva, Macmillan, don't expect anything from Uncle Konrad!"

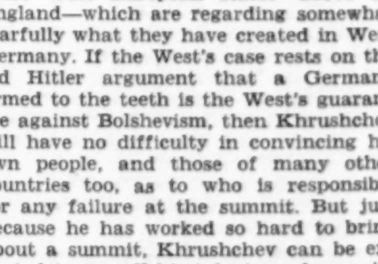
West is carrying out the Munich type of appeasement. It is pointed out that there has never been one word of reproach from the West about the almost daily shouts from various organizations in West Germany demanding the reannexation of the former Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia and the Polish lands east of the Oder-Neisse line.

The Western attitude towards Soviet concern over the upsurge of militarism in West Germany is regarded here as the touchstone of the West's basic policy towards the Soviet Union. Khrushchev has shown interest in some sort of marking-time or cooling-off period. For this, any amount of variants could be negotiated. But if the West shows preference for ganging-up in a Munich-type of agreement to give German militarism the green light for expansion eastwards—and there are plenty of suspicions of this here—then the Soviet Union will probably withdraw into its own arrangements and preparations.

THE PROSPECTS: Any idea that the Soviet Union would agree to a formula by which East Germany is attached to add another 20,00,000 population to a nuclear-armed, revenge-bound West Germany is nonsensical. And there is not a single West European power which is not secretly appalled at the prospect.

If summit talks are held and Germany and European security are to be discussed, Khrushchev is sure to turn up with a whole quiver-full of ideas attractive not only to the Soviet Union but to those West European states—above all England—which are regarding somewhat fearfully what they have created in West Germany. If the West's case rests on the old Hitler argument that a Germany armed to the teeth is the West's guarantee against Bolshevism, then Khrushchev will have no difficulty in convincing his own people, and those of many other countries too, as to who is responsible for any failure at the summit. But just because he has worked so hard to bring about a summit, Khrushchev can be expected to use all his talents and energies to produce something concrete out of it.

Paddle The GUARDIAN Canoe
with Pete Seeger, Lloyd Gough



Around the Isle, up the Hudson
Friday Night, June 12th!

BEHIND THE COMIC OPERA REVOLUTION

Panama: Why Washington wants no changes

The recent attempt at a "revolution" in Panama involved Britain's leading ballerina Dame Margot Fonteyn, whose wealthy husband, former Panamanian Ambassador to London Dr. Roberto Arias, was supposed to be trying to overthrow the government of President Ernesto de la Guardia Jr. On the fringes was Hollywood star John Wayne. During the weekend of April 18, Dame Margot entered Panama from a motor launch, was arrested and expelled. Arias slipped in via a shrimp boat to a sanctuary in the Brazilian embassy, where he remains. Wayne was cleared.

On April 25, 85 armed men and a woman were reported to have landed near the Panamanian village of Santa Isabel, on the Caribbean coast, and established a beachhead. Many of the 85 were Cubans. Washington hastily called the Council of the Organization of American States into session, where the Cuban representative disclaimed any part in the invasion. An OAS commission persuaded the invaders to surrender. They are now in jail.

But there was a serious undercurrent to the comic opera events. Arias and de la Guardia may have been merely carrying on a family feud over the spoils of the Panama Canal (de la Guardia replaced Arias' father as Panama's president), but the landing indicated that the Cuban revolution has let loose a powerful anti-imperialist fever which has penetrated even the little Republic of Panama—480 miles long, 28,752 square miles, population 960,000, the smallest of the 21 American republics. The following article by the GUARDIAN's correspondent in Mexico gives the background.

By John Hill
Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

WHAT HAS BEEN happening in Panama has little to do with the landing of a few armed Cubans in support of an opposition movement within the country. The incident is only the latest expression of the conflict between colonialism and freedom which the youngest republic of the Americas has endured ever since it was torn from Colombia by the U.S. in 1903.

And if Washington acted to crush the rebellion, it was not because of these few men and one woman, but because their landing presented an opportunity to accomplish two objectives: to embarrass the new Cuban government of Fidel Castro, which has denied all responsibility for the "invasion," and to apply military force against the Panamanian national liberation movement.

From the beginning Panama has existed by and for the Canal. The Republic was just two weeks old when the Canal Treaty with the United States was concluded.

The treaty divided Panama through its middle. It conceded to the U.S. **"in perpetuity** the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said canal of the width of ten miles . . ." Washington was granted "all the rights, power and authority within the zone mentioned . . . which the U.S. would possess and exercise **if it were the sovereign of the territory** within which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority." Moreover, the U.S. obtained the right to maintain military forces and fortifications in the area.

FEW CHANGES: Washington has rigidly held on to these privileges. The basic provisions of the 1903 treaty were reaffirmed in the Eisenhower-Remón

LATIN AMERICAN TURMOIL
A revolution suceeds in Cuba (1); tyranny reigns in Haiti (2); a comic-opera invasion fails in Panama (3); and trouble brews in Bolivia (4).

"Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation" of 1955. True, Washington agreed to some revisions. The annuity paid to Panama was raised from $430,000 to $1,930,000, and land valued at $25,000,000 was turned over to Panamanian jurisdiction. But other treaty revisions are still to be enforced four years later.

As recently as April 27—two days after the "invasion"—the Panamanian Embassy in Mexico announced that its government was continuing to press the U.S. to fulfill the agreement to end discrimination against Panamanian workers in the Canal Zone: today Panamanian citizens are excluded from the better paid jobs on the ground that these are confidential positions.

American spokesmen have emphasized that none of the concessions made to Panama in the latest treaty involved the slightest retreat from Washington's claim to complete sovereignty in the area. Moreover, in return for these concessions, Panama was forced to grant new privileges to the U.S., such as training sites for the American armed forces.

THE BENEFITS: Canal toll collections last year amounted to $41,800,000. Of this, somewhat over 4% went to Panama, while the U.S. collected 20% alone as interest on its investment. Perhaps even more important is the fact that toll charges have been kept at an abnormally low level to benefit American shippers who are the principal users of the Canal. These benefits will increase, as the present traffic through the Canal is expected to double by 1975 and to triple before the end of the century.

Completing the picture of U.S. domination, a United Fruit Co. subsidiary, the Chiriqui Land Co., is the largest enterprise in the country and controls Panama's principal export, bananas. In addition, American oil and mining companies have extended their concessions over almost the entire territory. John Foster Dulles explained Panama's exclusion from the Suez Canal Users' Conference in 1956 by saying that the U.S. represented Panama's interests.

HARD ROAD: Under these conditions, the national movement of Panama has followed tortuous paths. It is reflected, for example, in the fact that no Panamanian President has served his full term of office since 1948. Sooner or later, either popular discontent or the long arm of Washington has removed the President from power or even from life.

One President, Col. José Antonio Remón Cantera, expressed his countrymen's feeling shortly before he went to Washington to negotiate the 1955 treaty. He declared: "[We] want neither millions nor alms. What we want is justice." That settled his fate. He returned from Washington complaining of U.S. intransigence. Not long after he was assassinated. His murderers have never been brought to justice.

This is the system which Washington, through the OAS, has been in such a hurry to protect.

Geneva parley

(Continued from Page 1)

three-fourths vote majority would be required) while the Big Four exchanged information on armaments and forces in a mutually acceptable area of Europe.

- Election of an all-German government within 30 months; negotiations for and the signing of a peace treaty with this government, and withdrawal of foreign troops from the acceptable area if a request came from the countries where they were stationed.

On May 15 Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko presented Moscow's proposal:

- Peace treaties with the two "sovereign" German governments, which will then decide between themselves the time and manner of German reunification.
- Pending reunification, West Berlin would become a "free, demilitarized city."
- The Soviet Union would withdraw its forces from Germany, Poland and Hungary provided the NATO powers "withdraw their forces into the bounds of their national borders and dismantle military bases on foreign territory."

HARD TO START: It was apparent that at least parts of the Soviet proposal were unacceptable to the U.S. Washington, for example, has no intention of bringing its forces home and dismantling its bases abroad—even if Soviet forces withdraw from Germany, Poland and Hungary. It was equally apparent that the U.S. package as such was unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

The **Manchester Guardian** noted (May 14) that the U.S. plan, "by linking so many matters together, incurs the risk that no start can be made on anything;" that even the urgent Berlin problem "is placed as part of the integrated whole." West German Socialist leader Erich Ollenhauer said he had "the impression that the plan unfortunately cannot form the basis for reunification and European security."

Washington, of course, was not unaware that its package would be rejected. With Moscow it accepts the fact that Germany will remain divided for some time. But it seeks to maintain the division in a manner that will permit continued pressure in an effort to upset the socialist governments in Eastern Europe, perhaps even of the Soviet Union itself.

EAST GERMANY: The Soviet Union seeks Western acceptance of the socialist regimes of Eastern Europe as permanent. It wants Western recognition of the East German government in order to insure the social gains of the East Germans in a united Germany. To most observers, Western—and especially U.S.—refusal to recognize the East German government is unrealistic. C. L. Sulzberger noted in the N.Y. **Times** (May 13): "Diplomats may protest the contrary but, in fact, we are already dealing with East Germany."

It is in the area outside German reunification and troop withdrawal that compromise solutions will have to be sought.

In a speech on May 16, Soviet Premier Khrushchev said he found the U.S. package unacceptable. But he added that he found in it "certain questions which are worthy of discussion" and for which Moscow "shall be prepared to seek acceptable solutions at the conference table" if the West agreed to consider them separately.

SIGNS OF CHANGE? Among these questions Khrushchev gave priority to peace treaties with the two Germanys and the status of Berlin. It was indeed a hopeful sign that Herter was reported on May 18 to be ready to propose an interim settlement of the Berlin issue pending a solution of general European problems.

If Herter were to make such a proposal, it would come as a relief to the British, who have been the target of a malicious whispering campaign and merciless criticism for their alleged "softness" toward the Soviet Union. The British government's lack of opposition to the recognition of the East German government is known; and columnist Joseph Alsop reported (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, May 15) that delegates at Geneva had been informed of a Moscow-London trade deal and of plans by the Fedn. of British Industries and the Reuters news agency to open offices in East Germany.

DISTURBING SHADOWS: After this news spread, the pressure on the British delegation was so great that Britain's Foreign Secy. Lloyd assumed an even more intransigent position than Herter. **Times** correspondent Drew Middleton reported (May 17) that the British delegation had concluded it is preferable to be "conformist and wrong on conference tactics than heretical and right." It also indicated, however, that there were cracks in the Western facade.

While it was being conceded that a summit meeting in the fall in Geneva or San Francisco was practically certain, there were disturbing shadows. The **New Republic** reported (May 18) that just before the Geneva conference, French President de Gaulle, with the support of Portugal, Italy and Turkey, had urged Spain's admission to NATO; and that "the State Dept. is not unsympathetic to the idea." Coming at a time when opposition to Franco is increasingly articulate within Spain, this will be resented by other NATO members, including Britain.

The N.Y. **Times'** military analyst Hanson Baldwin noted (May 12) that by December NATO's European members "should have half to two-thirds of the 100 missile battalions of all types that represent the 1963 NATO goal."

TOO LATE, HE SAYS: This sharp stepping up of the missile program in Europe undoubtedly prompted Khrushchev to warn on May 9 that, if war should come, the Soviet Union would suffer great losses but the Western powers would be wiped off the map and "the countries first to suffer will be those in which the Americans are setting up their rocket bases." Baldwin said the warning "comes too late. The process is already well started."

Ludas Matyi
"Hmm. that face looks familia . . ."

Abetting Adenauer's aim again to extend the German border beyond the Oder-Neisse line, the former Sudeten Germans have openly come out for the re-establishment of German pwer in what was Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia. At a rally in Vienna on May 17 of 300,000 Sudeten Germans, their leader, Dr. Rudolph Lodgman von Auen, demanded restitution of their property and the right to exercise "self-determination."

A YEAR OF RAPID CHANGE

Inside Israel and out: The job of survival

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

RETURNING TO Israel after a year's absence is quite an experience, as the face of this country changes so rapidly in both human and material terms.

North African immigrants of a few years ago—dark-skinned, vivacious, babbling away in French and Arabic—gave way to those from Poland, mostly sophisticated intellectuals. Then came the latest wave from Rumania. These are chiefly small-town Jews, traders and artisans, a few artists and doctors—and many requiring special care.

Of these, roughly 10% cannot be rehabilitated: the old, the sick, and the war invalids. They strain to the utmost the public social services and voluntary welfare bodies. It would be a fair guess that a fifth of the population of more than 2,000,000 is in some way dependent on public assistance.

OTHER BURDENS: These do not, however, constitute the only or even the major burden on the government and the taxpayer. It costs many thousands of pounds (one Israel pound is roughly 50c U.S.) to absorb and integrate each family, providing them with housing, vocational training and retraining, language courses, farm or workshop equipment. The cost is borne by Israelis and Jews abroad alike; but the average Israeli bears the main burden in terms of ever increasing taxes, compulsory loans and constantly rising prices.

Early in March the Cabinet approved a compulsory immigration loan. This will result in a 6-12% subscription by taxpayers of their income after deduction of personal allowances and the already high income tax. The average person will probably pay from 15 to 20 Israel pounds a month, providing the treasury with an additional 40,000,000 pounds.

The government has greatly increased passport and exit visa fees—together they now total 90 pounds for each journey abroad—as well as customs and excise duties. The latter have led to steep increases in the price of building materials, with an expected rise in price of apartments and houses, which people usually buy rather than rent.

COST OF LIVING: Tariffs have gone up on a long list of imported raw materials, machinery and electric appliances. Prices for drugs and medicine are up 85%; shoes face a 25% rise, furniture 15%, typewriters 20%, and so on indefinitely. With an election in the offing, the Histadrut (Israel Labor Fedn.) is deeply concerned about the long-term effects of these increases. Overall wage increases are out of the question; but the labor leadership will probably find a way of compensating at least the lowest income groups earning less than 300 pounds monthly.

This somber picture is somewhat relieved by the drop in prices of fish, fruit, vegetables, most staple foods, butter and meat—now improved in quality and available in greater variety and quantity due to increased domestic production. With the exception of coffee, tea, cocoa, sugar and rice, Israel is gradually becoming self-sufficient in foodstuffs, a vast improvement over the days eight years ago when one was solely dependent on the perennial imported fish fillet and the home-grown egg-plant and green peppers.

Solving the long-term economic problem is a different matter. The opposition charges with some justification that, while immigration from East Europe has dwindled to a trickle, the compulsory immigration loan is kept on the books to finance ordinary government expenditures not covered by the annual budget. The country, in fact, faces some very real economic problems.

THE CHOICE: German reparations, now providing about 25% of the hard foreign currency at the treasury's disposal, end in 1962. Other hard currency revenue, derived from foreign loans, credits and contributions and bond purchases by foreign Jewry, are expected to remain static. The constantly rising productivity and output will hardly compensate for the loss of German reparations.

DISHWATER IN THE FOREGROUND, A RIFLE IN THE REAR
A scene on the Kibbutz Adamit near the Lebanese border

Israel will soon have to choose between a return to austerity and even greater production and export. The immediate prospect seems to involve restricted consumption, frozen wages, encouragement of every type of private investment, continuing the offer of tax relief and permission to transfer all profits in hard currency to lure more foreign investors.

For the long-range solution of stepped up exports, free passage through the Suez Canal and the expansion of the port of Eilat are virtually necessary to expand Israel's natural markets in Asia and Africa. To these countries, Israel is already supplying modern technical skills, and it now harbors many guests from these lands who have come to learn these skills.

CONTACTS WIDENED: A few years ago a **kushi,** the Hebrew word for a black man, was so rare here that children stopped in the streets and stared. Today, many Asians and Africans walk the streets of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, study at the Weizmann Institute at Rehovot or even in the outlying settlements or **kibbutzim.** Israel in recent years has made a tremendous and successful effort to widen its contacts with Asian-African countries.

La Gauche, Paris

Close relations were first established with Burma, where a number of joint companies are now being set up. One would provide low-cost housing to the Burmese. Israel's shipping line, Zim, operates and acts as agent for Burma's state-owned Gold Star Line. Israeli experts in Burma are directing a pharmaceutical plant, advising on irrigation, helping to set up a nurse's training school. On the other hand, 32 Burmese ex-servicemen — some with their wives and children—are here studying cooperative and communal farming methods. They began with a special one-month intensive Hebrew course.

AID TO AFRICA: When I was in Ghana, I found Israeli naval and air force officers directing the new maritime training and air pilot schools. Israeli engineers and draftsmen were working on such projects as the Accra airport, the Cape Coast-Tokarady road and public buildings and housing through the Ghana Natl. Construction Co., jointly owned 60-40 by the Ghana government and the Histadrut's Solel Boneh.

Ghana's Black Star Line is also jointly owned with Zim. What impressed me most was that, while European contractors use Africans only in unskilled jobs, the Israelis were training the Africans rapidly, so that Africans are already foremen in construction jobs and officers on ships and soon to become engineers.

A private Israeli firm, the Liberian Construction Corp., is building Monrovia's first modern hotel, office building and department store. Another is building a modern hotel in Ibadan, Nigeria, and probably hotels in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and Lomé, Togo. Looking forward to independence in a year or two, all three countries have requested Israeli aid in farming. With the opening of the Israeli embassy in Conakry, Guinea, these services will undoubtedly be extended to that country.

NEW POTENTIALS: Israel has offered university scholarships to Ghanaians and Liberians. Last winter the Histadrut held in Tel Aviv a three-month Afro-Asian seminar on cooperation with 50 delegates from 13 African and Asian countries. A UNESCO seminar on adult education was held here last December, with 11 Afro-Asians participating. Recently, Africans attended a seminar here on Land Settlement, under the auspices of the Agriculture Ministry.

Meanwhile, Ceylonese teachers, Indian journalists, Burmese students arrive in increasing numbers. Such contacts may eventually help Israel to break out of the isolation created by the Arab boycott, to establish diplomatic relations with Asia's two giants, China and India. They may further open up potential export markets Israel needs for survival when natural outlets in neighboring countries are closed to it.

A TRIBUTE TO INTEGRITY

10 years of Monthly Review

IN THE FIRST ISSUE of a magazine called **Monthly Review,** Prof. Albert Einstein wrote in May, 1949: "Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of the greatest significance in our age of transition. Since, under the present circumstances, free and unhindered discussion of these problems has come under a powerful taboo, I consider the founding of this magazine to be an important public service."

This month, **Monthly Review,** with Vol. 11, No. 1, marks ten years of service which Prof. Einstein, if he were alive, would acknowledge and applaud. We at the GUARDIAN would like to add to the felicitations coming in from all over the world our expression of esteem and warm feeling for **Monthly Review** and its editors, Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, for ten years of integrity.

IT IS ONE of the phenomena of our time that Huberman and Sweezy should be honored far more in Europe and Asia—for their magazine and for their books and studies of the conditions and the economy of both socialist and capitalist nations—than in their native land. Their books have been translated in many languages and they have been called as consultants to several nations. Despite what would be a natural and understandable pull toward areas where they could easily expect a greater response, they have never departed from their original purpose, as stated in the first issue:

"We shall follow the development of socialism all over the world, but we want to emphasize that our major concern is less with socialism abroad than with socialism at home. We are convinced that the sooner the United States is transformed from a capitalist to a socialist society, the better it will be, not only for Americans, but for all mankind."

THE MANNER of **Monthly Review** has been modest through its ten years, its language simple and its intelligence high. In addition to putting out the magazine, the editors have founded Monthly Review Press which has published some of the finest—and what will most likely be among the most enduring—books on the great issues of our day.

In a time on the American Left when content is replacing cant, and when criticism, constructively undertaken, is assuming its proper and necessary place, the achievement of **Monthly Review** has been notable. Above all, it has succeeded in making "socialism" far less of a dirty word than it was ten years ago. For that alone it deserves our gratitude.

—**James Aronson**

A 'CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION' THE PEOPLE DON'T WANT

Joshua Nkomo and Britain's last opportunity

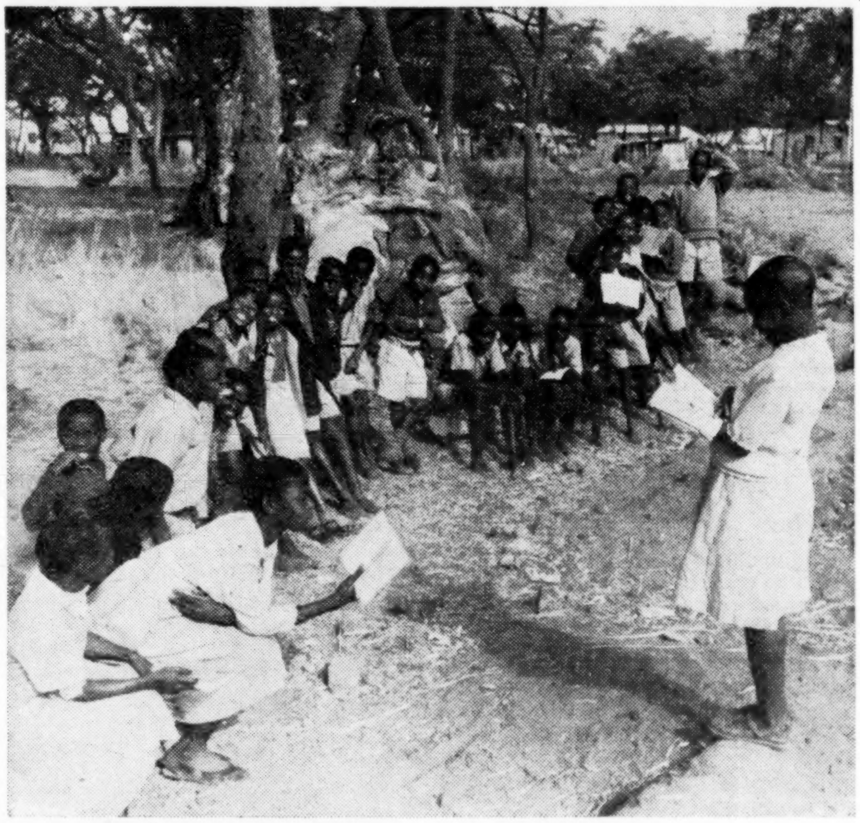
By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

SEVENTY YEARS AGO British pale-faces occupied the territory of the Mashonas, Makalangas and Matabeles, the Barotsi, Tonga, Bemba and other peoples, and called it all Rhodesia—Northern and Southern. Next year, against all the peoples' wishes, the whole area with the adjacent land of the Nyasas is scheduled for permanent atlas demarcation as a "Central African Federation" dominated by jimcrow Southern Rhodesia.

Of how the inhabitants were reduced to acute subjection and insecurity in those 70 years, most Britons—though responsible for it as voters—have remained blissfully ignorant. Now, as a direct result of the mass jailings of African leaders, they are getting the facts at first-hand.

African leaders who were away when the "emergency" round-ups took place made a bee-line for Britain, to continue their freedom struggle in the field of British public opinion. One of these is Joshua Nkomo, African Natl. Congress president in Southern Rhodesia, who flew here from Cairo.



A RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT AFRICAN SCHOOL IN SALISBURY
Two logs and a tree trunk make an outdoor classroom

LONG EXILE: Physically massive, cultured in manner, gentle of voice, 41-year-old Nkomo has already opened thousands of British eyes on his speaking tour, often covering more than one meeting a day. He is settling down to a long exile from his wife, three children, and country. If he returned he would be subject to 25 years' imprisonment for these crimes: being an ANC official, ten years; being an ANC member, five years; attending the Accra conference, ten years. "But," he says, "trying and sentencing would be unnecessary since they can hold you indefinitely without trial under the new Preventive Detention Act."

Southern Rhodesia has less than 70 African university graduates (several of them now jailed) of whom Nkomo is one;

JOSHUA NKOMO
His home is a land of homeless

there are two African doctors and two lawyers. Its peoples' longing for education is shown by the fact that over half the children attend school—mostly mission schools—although it costs some $11 a year per African child. (White children are educated free: the government spends $168 a year per white child, $7 per African child).

Most Africans are farmers with an average cash income of $140 a year, which is over $100 short of the minimum cost of living for a couple with three children.

WORK AND SCHOOL: Nkomo's father, a farmer and mission-school teacher, sacrificed almost everything to send his seven children to school. Joshua worked for years as a carpenter, laborer, driver, to attend and graduate in social science from a South African university. Then the Southern Rhodesian railways employed him at $34 a month.

He had to train others in the work, including whites; one of these, when trained, was put over him at a $336 monthly salary. As Railway Workers Union president Nkomo built a 10,000 membership and more than doubled the pay to an average of $15 a month. He retired "exhausted" to start an insurance and real estate business and actively head the ANC, which in 1957 came out strongly for African equality based on "one man, one vote." The whites immediately denounced ANC "extremists" but that year ANC membership leaped to 170,000.

Southern Rhodesia permits no Africans to live in a city except those "serving" the white community, and for these a shantytown ghetto is provided. If they lose their job they must go to the "African sections" far out in the bush away from roads and railways. City-dwelling Africans may not own property, only lease it by the month. Some build their own houses on leased land, but are forced to sell them and leave if they become unemployed.

HOME OF THE HOMELESS: Nkomo's homeland is in fact a land of many homeless people who, just because they are indigenous to it, "have no place at all to live. They can't stay in the town because there aren't enough jobs; and in the 'African sections' all the land is already occupied, and the farmers can't adequately support their own families, let alone employ others.

"The sections which Africans are allowed to farm make up about a third of the country, and almost half the land is farmed by about 6,000 whites. African farmers are limited by law to eight acres and 15 head of cattle; many have had to sell what cattle they had and now have none. Apart from the economic privation, this has disturbed the whole social set-up of our cattle-minded people, destroying the traditional ceremonies of our life.

"Actually it is our fight on these land and cattle laws that has swelled the ranks of Congress and caused the government to crack down on us. Now they are saying that we 'intimidated' people to join Congress. It is just nonsense—in fact the people were being intimidated **not** to join. We are being told the people 'don't want' Congress. Well, let's hold a referendum on that and we'll soon find out."

APARTHEID PLUS: With his experience of South Africa, Nkomo categorically describes Southern Rhodesia as "worse" than the land of **apartheid** even before the present "emergency." South Africa does have some segregated amenities for Africans; Southern Rhodesia doesn't even have one movie for them.

Yet most Rhodesian whites are "totally blind to the injustice for which they are responsible. They don't know what life is like in the 'African sections' because they can't even visit them without government permission." The people are almost completely cut off from information about the outside world, with only government propaganda on the radio and "African" newspapers all owned by white capitalists.

A devout Methodist and occasional lay preacher, Nkomo is deeply pervaded by a non-violent philosophy of social change. He might well despair at the outcome of years of non-violent effort by his people. That he doesn't is largely due to the march of events in West Africa, where Ghana's Nkrumah and Guinea's Sekou Toure continue to labor tirelessly for African freedom. Nkomo has just returned from a visit to those countries interrupting his speaking tour here.

FREEDOM FIRES: This month the two West African leaders published sweeping proposals for a Union of African States, in which they look toward a common citizenship, bank, and defense policy, and abolition of inter-travel visas. This caused immediate alarm in France, whose 11 "free republics" in Africa may be moved by it to demand genuine freedom within such a federation. For British, Belgian and Portuguese imperialism it presents a more long-term worry, but certainly it will stoke the freedom fires throughout the continent.

As for the sincerity of British intentions in Central Africa, Nkomo's skepticism steadily deepens. Referring last month to the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesian desire to quit the Federation, Colonial Secy. Lennox-Boyd repeated the objection that it would be "economically disastrous," but added that it was unthinkable because "Southern Rhodesia could not stand two Ghanas on its doorstep."

This, says Nkomo, not only "shows what the British government really thinks about Ghana," but "that this is the true reason for enforcing Federation is what we've been saying for years, and now they've admitted it. They don't want free African states just across the Zambezi" from Southern Rhodesia, whose machine for milking Africa and Africans can only run on jimcrow fuel.

THE PLEDGE: Africans here believe that poor Nyasaland may finally be allowed to quit the Federation at the price of copper-rich Northern Rhodesia being irrevocably bound to Southern Rhodesia. But as secy. Dennis Phombeah of London's Committee of African Organizations writes to the **Manchester Guardian:** "This is unacceptable to all Africans of Central Africa. First Nyasaland, then Northern Rhodesia, and thirdly Southern Rhodesia must be won for democracy, and this is the African pledge . . ."

With the tide rising fast, imperial-minded Britons continue to act like Canutes, expressing only a shade less crudely than of old their contempt for Africans. To an exiled Nkomo, Lennox-Boyd is "not at home." Lord Salisbury fumes that Britain must support the "white Rhodesians loyal to Britain"—implying the disloyalty of black Rhodesians who, trusting in her promises, fought and sacrificed many lives for Britain in both world wars.

Leaders like Nkomo represent Britain's last chance to solve African problems without violence. With such Africans here telling the facts, the belatedly-educated British public could yet put on enough pressure to avoid the bloodbath which may be dangerously near in Central Africa.

Americans in Russia

HOW AMERICANS VIEW THE SOVIET UNION, by Herbert Aptheker, editor of **Political Affairs**, sums up in 32 pages what U.S. visitors to the U.S.S.R. have been saying on their return since Sputnik. Handily subdivided by subject: The Economy, Education, Health, Science, Children, Culture, General Living Standards, etc. Price 25c. New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3.

Independent-Socialist group issues a newsletter in N.Y.

NEW YORK'S United Independent-Socialist Committee has undertaken publication of a newsletter. The first issue, dated May, 1959, contains an analysis of the 1958 election in N.Y. and a commentary by Muriel McAvoy on the first legislative session under Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. The newsletter reports plans for an electoral conference in New York in September, with a special subcommittee now at work to prepare the conference and to "explore the possibilities of a joint 1960 presidential campaign in conjunction with other independent and socialist groups throughout the country . . ."

The first issue of the newsletter went to supporters of the Independent-Socialist Party ticket in the 1958 N.Y. elections. Others may get copies from the Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3.

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BOOKS

John Haynes Holmes and civil liberties

AS A LIBERAL UNITARIAN clergyman, and later minister of the Community Church in New York for almost 40 years, John Haynes Holmes actively supported many of the important progressive movements in America during the first half of the 20th century. In his spirited autobiography* the author tells the story of his participation in causes and committees, of his contacts with some of the outstanding leaders of our time and of his unceasing efforts to socialize and humanize religion.

Dr. Holmes was outspoken in his defense of Sacco and Vanzetti; campaigned on behalf of Senator Robert LaFollette for President in 1924; was a central figure in the City Affairs Committee, which did much to eliminate Jimmy Walker as Mayor of New York; and took a leading role in the work of the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Assn. for Advancement of Colored People. Memorable also was his uncompromising pacifist stand in regard to both the First and Second World Wars.

Handsome, dynamic, a persuasive preacher and speaker—though, as in this book, occasionally grandiloquent in expression—Dr. Holmes has exercised an effective influence in his far-flung activities. And I know no person who has been more brilliant and strenuous than he in the pursuit of the good life.

YET JOHN HAYNES HOLMES has made his share of mistakes; and the worst one, in my opinion, was during his term of office as Chairman of the ACLU Board of Directors from 1939 to 1949. Since I remained a member of the Board throughout those years, I was well aware of Dr. Holmes' part in the ACLU decisions to sacrifice basic principles of civil liberties for an anti-Communist crusade that would bring greater respectability to the organization and some immunity from reactionary attacks. It was none other than Dr. Holmes, as Chairman of the Board, who cast the deciding ballot—after a tie vote—dropping Communist Party member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as an ACLU Director in a witch-hunt "trial" that lasted till 2:30 in the morning.

It is surprising that in this book Dr. Holmes should repeat the old myth of a Communist "conspiracy" in the Civil Liberties Union; and all the more surprising since he himself correctly states: "The panic of red ruin stirred up by considerable people, intelligent and well-informed enough to know better, never had any basis in fact."

What is based in fact is that Dr. Holmes and his colleagues in the top leadership of the ACLU—notably attorney Morris L. Ernst—raised the false Communist issue to put across a purge of Communists and "fellow-travelers" in the organization in order to appease the House Un-American Activities Committee, whose chairman at the time was Martin Dies. Dies promised not to carry out his threat to brand the Civil Liberties Union as a Communist front if it would reciprocate by surrendering on a large sector of civil liberties. This surrender came in the form of the ACLU's 1940 Resolution barring Communists (and other "totalitarians") from employment and officership in the organization. This policy statement—which Holmes' tie-breaking vote helped establish—was the first important anti-Communist political bar in the United States.

IT IS ESSENTIAL to keep the historical record straight and to realize that anti-Communist hysteria and appeasement of inquisitorial Congressional committees long ago penetrated to the very core of America's most powerful civil liberties organization. The deal with Dies has been a major factor in setting the tone of ACLU policies for almost two decades; and has left an indelible imprint in the 1940 Resolution still officially in effect. The Resolution is a repugnant skeleton that rattles every time a file is opened at the Civil Liberties Union. And until it is revoked, this organization can never regain its full moral stature or function as an uncompromising civil liberties group.

These are some of the reflections that have occurred to me in reading Dr. Holmes' autobiography, which I found stimulating. The best of men active in public affairs are bound to make mistakes, as witness Fiorello LaGuardia and Franklin D. Roosevelt. On balance, John Haynes Holmes has rendered, I believe, substantial services to the goal of a better world; and stands out as the type of fighting idealist of whom there are always too few.

— Corliss Lamont

**I SPEAK FOR MYSELF, the autobiography of John Haynes Holmes. Harper & Bros., N.Y. 308 pp. $4.50.*

Song of peace

THE ABOVE BLOCKPRINT is one of nine by artist Anton Refregier making up Section 2 of a large (8½x11) and stirring booklet of poetry, Song of Peace, compiled by Walter Lowenfels for Roving Eye Press, 37 W. 8 St., N.Y.C. Each Refregier panel occupies a page by itself in the work. The poetry—translated, adapted and arranged by Lowenfels—includes work of Paul Eluard, Nicolas Guillen, Nazim Hikmet, Horace, M. Lukenin. Gabriela Mistral, Vitezlav Nezval, Tu Fu and others, including an unknown Sioux Indian. The title is Nezval's and his verses (translated by Anthony Krchmarek) form a "refrain" for Section 1, in which the works of other poets are used in documentary style. Eluard's poem Peace comprises Section 3. The edition came off the press just in time for Refregier to take a supply to the World Peace Congress at Stockholm May 8-14 (see p. 4). The paper-cover edition is $1.35 (five for $5); a signed library edition, $5; subscription edition. $10.

From 'Drawing': Armenian Peasants—Chalk and Pastel, by Paul Hogarth

YOUR KID COULDN'T DO BETTER

Drawing: U. S. craftsmen and British renaissance

THE FOURTH semi-annual issue of the American fine-art magazine of graphic realism, **Drawing**,* is now off the press run by its three poet-and-artist editors and printers.

It may be a measure of our cultural confusion that a straightforward and essentially simple presentation continues to seem unusual. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that, in a milieu where paintings by small children, the mentally ill and even chimpanzees are discussed as art, there is not a single drawing in the 54 full-page reproductions offered here which is not the work of a serious craftsman. If all are not masterly, all are obviously competent and "artful." None would tempt the familiar reaction, "My kid could do better!"

Drawing has extended its general American coverage to regional sections on our Northwest and Southwest and to a selection from what seems to be a continuing renaissance of the graphic and plastic arts in England. Gwathmey, Lawrence, Hirsch, Brook, O'Keefe and Tobey, along with less familiar draftsmen, make a generous sampling of American works ranging in media from the old charcoal stick to the comparatively new felt brush. Sculptural sketches by Jacob Epstein and Henry Moore are reproduced along with a dozen other English works. John Berger, art critic of the **New Statesman**, provides an introduction which, like all his critical writing, is acute and makes no apologies for being intelligible.

FOR EYES bewildered by the art propaganda of pointless obscurity and negation, **Drawing** continues to project what may sometimes seem to be a still, small vision. Between a popular-art world of intrusive commercials and a fine-art world of shattering disorientation, as an esthetic conscience it affirms that visual arts can still be both emotionally forceful and significant. Without pretentiousness it insists on a humanistic vision which includes mankind's own face and figure and its ineluctably human and culturally traditional ways of seeing the world.

Since **Drawing** consists of reproductions (excellent photo-offset work), a note on one viewer's reactions and on the slowly approaching millennium of democratic arts may be of interest. After seeing the originals (on display at the National Arts Club in New York, through May 17th) and re-viewing the reproductions, I find the latter more satisfying than the former.

At any rate, these well-printed drawings have for me a finality and a finish on their individual sheets in the book which I did not experience on seeing the originals. The magazine versions communicate to me more easily and they are more satisfying than were the conglomerate presentation of them on the gallery walls. It may be that we are coming to a revolutionary turning-point where the reproduction is (as I think it ought to be) the true art-object. It may be that originals will come to serve as a mold does for casting and as a negative serves for a photoprint. If the seeing eye and the object change in this way, the inexpensive reproduction may some day out-value the snobbish collector's hoard of originals and industrial democracy will at last reach this ancient and honorable art.

—Robert Joyce

**DRAWING, edited by Bruce Duff Hooton, Daniel Brown and David Johnson. Drawing Magazine, 281 E. Broadway, New York 2, N.Y. $1.50 per issue, $3 a year.*

Hospital strike

(Continued from Page 1)

technicians, and social workers had joined the kitchen workers, the orderlies, elevator operators, aides and porters, most of the strikers were earning between $32 and $38 a week for a 40- or 48-hour week with no overtime pay, no grievance procedures, and without being covered by unemployment insurance or disability benefits. Very few have ever belonged to a union before.

It is one of the jokes around the various strike headquarters, as we sit waiting our turn on the line, that we are philanthropists too. I saw a laundry worker one night with pencil and paper figuring. After four years she was earning $36 a week. Comparing this to the $58 paid a similar worker in an organized city hospital, she figured $22 a week or $1,144 a year in pay-check philanthropy from a woman with three children to support.

THE VOLUNTEERS: Since Local 1199 is a small union of Retail Drug Employes which hasn't collected a cent in dues money from the hospital workers—and says it won't until it gets them a pay increase—we strikers have received no strike benefits beyond free coffee, sandwiches and an occasional orange at the headquarters and, the last few days, two subway tokens at the end of a day's picketing. Everyone eligible—and all but a handful of us are—are applying to the Dept. of Welfare for emergency relief.

Friendly nurses and doctors, as they walk past our lines, tell us the careful routines inside the hospitals have been shattered. Refusing to consider union offers to send in trained workers to care for those too ill to be moved, hospitals are operating with strikebreakers and volunteers. A N.Y. Post reporter, sent into Mt. Sinai to pose as a worker, found himself after 15 minutes of instruction operating the sterilizing ovens. He reported the department preparing the gloves, surgical instruments and syringes for sterilization had three of its regular employes in, 15 on strike.

Hospital communiques cheerfully insist everything is normal and "better than normal" while senior partners of the best Wall Street banking firms dish up food on paper plates in diet kitchens; those social workers who didn't strike carry bedpans; and picket lines, plodding patiently around the clock, are occasionally delighted by the sight of an assistant director bringing out garbage.

WIDE SUPPORT: Those who have supported the right of workers to a union include former Senator Lehman, Sen. Javits, Thurgood Marshall, Adam Clayton Powell, the ADA and the Assn. of Reform Rabbis. The N.Y. Post (whose employes were among the first to deliver canned goods to strike headquarters) said editorially: "Legally the union may be found guilty of contempt of court. But there is also a contempt for decency and fairness in the obduracy of the hospital trustees which precipitated this strike." Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote: "Employes who are quite evidently not receiving a living wage and are dissatisfied with their conditions of work should simply be slaves if they were obliged to work without being able to reach their employers with their complaints and demand negotiation."

But most heartening to the strikers, as the strike entered its second week, was mushrooming labor support. On May 17 at an angry overflow meeting of the Central Labor Council, 700 AFL-CIO leaders heard Louis Hollander, chairman of their state executive council, state "not one cent" should be given the Greater New York Fund or the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies until labor was actively represented on the running of the hospitals.

Michael J. Quill said Mayor Wagner should not give "one brown cent" to the hospitals until they sat down to negotiate with the striking union. Harry Van Arsdale Jr., president of the Council, who had already won the striker's affection by daily visiting their picket lines, spoke of "labor's obligation." George Meany telephoned: "I pledge the fullest backing and support. . . . . March on to victory."

GREEN SUN-TAN: The strikers, most of whom had never heard Meany's name ten days ago, reassured each other with it as they went on picketing, soft cotton-farm South Carolinian accents blending with singsong Jamaican, Puerto Ricans translating for each other. There were additional picket signs now. Some, carried by members of other unions in occasional 1,000-man demonstrations, read of the AFL-CIO backing. Gentle nurses' aides carried signs that read: "The welfare of the patients demands union recognition." Charles A. Silver, coming out of his hospital, was observed looking green under a Florida tan.

BOOKS

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About Arthur F. Coca, M.D.

Dr. Coca is one of the world's leading allergy specialists. He is Honorary President of the American Association of Immunologists. For 17 years he was Medical Director of Lederle Laboratories. He taught at the Post Graduate Medical School of Columbia University, was a Professor of Immunology at Cornell, has written extensively for medical journals throughout the world. The findings in "The Pulse Test" were first presented to the medical profession in a technical monograph, "Familial Non-reaginic Food Allergy." This book is in its third printing and we can supply copies at $10.50.

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RALLY SCHEDULED FOR NEW YORK JUNE 19

Support grows for Sobell freedom

NEW SUPPORT is gathering for a commutation of sentence for Morton Sobell, as urged Feb. 22 in an open letter signed by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and two colleagues of the Union Theological Seminary; Jerome Nathanson, leader of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, Prof. of Religion Paul Ramsey of Princeton, and Profs. Edmond Cahn and Gerhard O. W. Mueller of N. Y. University School of Law.

The Christian Century, undenominational religious weekly, editorially concurred with the Niebuhr letter; and the Portland **Oregonian**, in an editorial of approval noted that "the public conscience will not be still when the public has the nagging suspicion it has been a party to injustice." The Sobell Case was discussed as the "Issue of the Month" in the April **Intercollegian**, publication of Natl. Student Council of the YM & YWCA; and the Catholic **Worker** for April-May devotes a solid page to an article by Ted Le Berthon called "Time, Conscience and the Sobell Case." The case was presented to the sixth YM-YWCA student assembly by Dr. Paul Lehman of Harvard Divinity School and Dr. Gardner Murphy, one of the movers for posthumous pardons for Sacco and Vanzetti.

RALLY IN NEW YORK: An "Open That Last Door" meeting has been scheduled for Friday evening, June 19, at Webster Hall in New York by the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Volunteers are needed by the Committee, 940 Broadway, N.Y.C., to help with preparatory work for the meeting.

Queens Sane Nuclear group

THE FLUSHING BRANCH of the Queens Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy will hold a meeting at the Sanford Hotel, 140-40 Sanford Avenue, Flushing, Friday evening, May 22, at 8:30 p.m.

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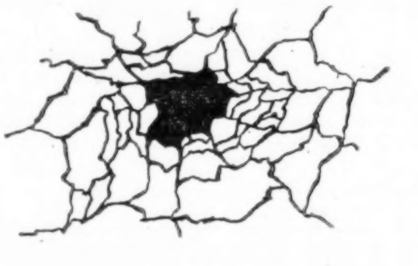

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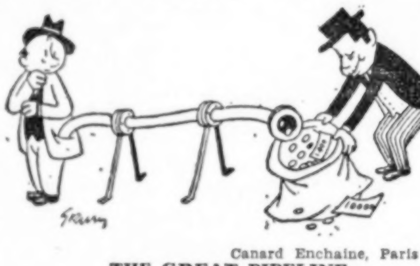
THE GALLERY

WORK BEGAN LAST FEBRUARY and is expected to end this summer on a $2,349,000 subway connecting the new Senate Office Building with the Capitol. When the Senators board the fluorescent-lit, acoustic-ceilinged, air-conditioned cars, it will be for a trip to a point 300 feet across the street from the Capitol. The two government commissions responsible for the project, it seems, crossed signals. Phil Roof, executive assistant to Senate Architect J. George Stewart (who is not an architect), estimates it will cost $4,000,000 to complete the line.

Roof also said that he had to tunnel through a two-foot thick concrete and granite wall in the new Senate building because when the building was planned in 1955 no provision was made for a subway. A fleet of five station wagons is ferrying the Senators over the one-block route in the meanwhile.

Architect Stewart said there were other things not provided for and asked for another $1,000,000 to finish the building. He wanted: $70,000 for "modernization" of a mail conveyor belt in use two weeks; $20,000 to reconstruct the garage ramp because the Senators' fat new cars are scraping the sides; $40,000 for movie projectors; an undisclosed amount for a new public address system to replace one which is given to "bleeping, squawking and buzzing"; an undisclosed amount to plug louvered doors through which conversation is slipping from "secret" committee hearings; and $150,000 for carpeting because the tiled floors are slippery.


Canard Enchaine, Paris
THE GREAT PIPELINE

Without additional cost aluminum hands have replaced bronze hands on clocks in 15 hearing rooms. The bronze hands, it seems, were too heavy and when the hour struck, the clocks "wheezed and grunted." Also new light bulbs are being placed in the wash rooms because "somebody pulled a boner" and put in 15-watt bulbs. Roof said: "It certainly is dark in there."

Some on the Senate Appropriations Committee questioned the request for carpeting. The floors are now covered with custom-made cream-grey rubber tile that cost $100,000 and took 30 months to install. Stewart, former Republican state chairman in Delaware, explained: "There has been quite a few Senators in this building that made the request."

The Senate voted the additional appropriation and work began on the carpeting. But it was soon discovered that doors in the building will not close over the carpeting. Carpenters are removing 600 two-and-one-half inch walnut doors to saw one-half inch off their bottoms.

But some Senators are standing firm on the tile. Led by William Proxmire (D-Wis.) they refuse to allow carpeting in their suites. With Paul H. Douglas (D.-Ill.), Proxmire demonstrated on television that application of non-skid wax would make the floors safe from slipping. But from Poncet Davis Jr., president of Robbins Floor Products, who supplied the tiles, came an anguished cry that his floors are not only "skidproof" but are used in hospitals and operating rooms across the country.

Douglas had an alternate plan: put rubber heels on secretaries' shoes. But apparently feeling that this was a manifestation of male chauvinism, the Senate voted it down.

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** summed up editorially: "We like a good joke as much as the next man, but sometimes, as taxpayers, we find that even the funniest situation loses its humor after a few hundred thousand dollars."

—Robert E. Light

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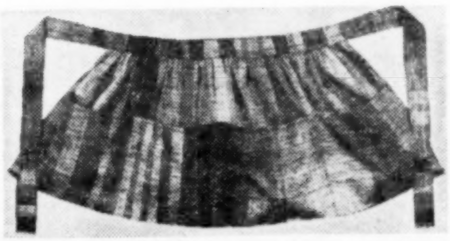

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

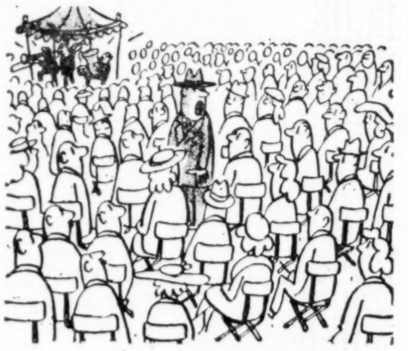
World of John Osborne

LONDON

WITH THE CATASTROPHE of his **World of Paul Slickey**, the meteoric saga of Britain's "angry young man" John Osborne merits observation even in countries that will never see it. In **Look Back in Anger** and other plays, Osborne's theme has been the sickness of the society his generation inherited; his approach has been to rivet on the sickness rather than point even indirectly to remedies. With this theme he "shocked" his way to a fabulous harvest of royalties from Broadway and several European capitals, as well as London.

Slickey, a musical satire, was so savaged by the press after an almost unprecedented pre-opening buildup that few believed it could be all that bad. Our society does delight in the sport of erecting idols and then pulling them down—the more so if the idol is himself an iconoclast. But the show turns out to be an absolute disaster, especially the direction which Osborne insisted on doing personally. That $70,000 should have been sunk in a grand-scale production of **Slickey** is a terrifying commentary on the high priests of British culture.

WE ARE USED TO WRITERS who are sick adults; here we seem to be in the presence of a sick schoolboy. What Osborne has attempted, through the medium of newspaper gossip-columnist "Slickey," is to satirize everything from the debasement of journalists to political windbags, from bloodthirsty "gentlefolk" to churchly hypocrites, from the animalization of sex to the jungle of "success." The lyric wit is on the level—literally—of armpits and toilet seats. The craftsmanship shows an occasional dim derivation from Brecht and **West Side Story**. The "sex angle" runs dry after everyone has slept with everyone else, and nothing is left but to open up new coupling permutations by the introduction of a drug changing the characters' sex. The end effect of this appalling goulash is to make one almost benevolently disposed toward the institutions satirized, if this is the kind of anger they inspire.



London Evening Standard

"Well, I had a seat before they played 'God Save the Queen!'"

Certainly the phenomenon of an Osborne is something that any culture must, at its peril, study seriously. If, in addition to a bad headache, the **Slickey** disaster gives Osborne time and opportunity to draw a moral about his work, something will have been gained. On what may be a serious note—but in the context it is impossible to know—his "Slickey" intones: "Why am I here, what am I doing?" Of the playwright it may be said with an assurance that he is going nowhere and, on the present evidence, nobody is going with him.

That he does have talent is as certain as that he sees through the sham of our society. What he lacks is really basic: a warm feeling toward people, the victims—generally without understanding it—of the sham. But the equal distribution of his contempt between the sham institutions and their victims has become a hallmark of Osborne's writing.

AFTER HIS FIRST SUCCESS with **Look Back in Anger**, Osborne described himself to me as a socialist. His unassuming manner was impressive, but it was impossible to draw any explanation either of what socialism meant to him, or of what he conceived as his work's purpose and meaning. He said he jotted down bits of dialogue and character in notebooks and then made plays out of them: he did not care to explain them, but left it to audiences to get from them whatever they could or liked to get. Osborne was to be off soon to Broadway. But it was encouraging that he first planned to visit the Moscow Youth Festival, where **Look Back** was to be staged.

In Moscow, it will be recalled, he was piqued by inadequate hotel accommodations and an apparent indifference on the part of Soviet writers, and he left after only a few days. In fact, with thousands of young folk arriving from all over the world, the festival organizers did a remarkable job but inevitably goofed here and there.

Muscovite writers and theater-lovers hung from the rafters to see **Look Back**, were a bit horrified but found much more good in it than might have been expected. The writers were anxious to meet, wine and dine Osborne but word of his arrival only reached them after he had left. If he had been able to talk to them, and had seen a little of Soviet life, it might have helped. But he was too anxious to "confirm" his deepening obsession that the claims of all forms of society are equally fraudulent. The thing for him was to concentrate on shattered illusions and leave to others the chore of cleaning up the mess.

SHOULD OSBORNE DRAW anything like the right conclusions from the slaughter of **Slickey**, he will find that the expression of pity and sympathy for people—whether directly or through satire—is no bed of roses for a Western writer in our time. To take such a line with any hope of material success involves, as a minimum, making oneself superior as a craftsman to the purveyors of "straight entertainment" or of nihilism. But with or without the bonanzas it has its rewards, for after all one must live with oneself.

—Cedric Belfrage